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1. The organization of the Communist Party within the Yugoslav armed forces has not yet been accorded legal recognition. It was rumored that this would be achieved during 1947, but thus far the Party's status remains unofficial.

Basis Organizational Scheme and its Functioning:

2. The basic organizational unit of the Communist Party within the Yugoslav armed forces is the "cell." Cells may be formed at all levels down to the company. The Party chain of command, which is parallel to the military, extends through cell organizations downward from army through division, brigade, and battalion to company. A military unit may contain several cells. A single cell may number not more than fifteen members, and the minimum number required is four.
3. The functions of a cell are:
 - a. To train and educate politically the members of the cell.
 - b. To carry out directives received from "higher levels," i.e., cells at battalion, brigade level, etc.
 - c. To establish rigid and absolute discipline within the cell itself, and thereafter to extend it to the whole unit of which the cell forms a part.
 - d. To maintain surveillance by cell members over the activities and movements of "unreliable" personnel of the unit and to report results daily to the cell secretary or political commissar. The report must specify, inter alia, the exact time the suspect left the unit area, the places he visited, the names of persons associated with, names of friends and associates within the unit, and topics of conversation.
4. Cell meetings are held as a rule every ten days. They generally take place in the unit headquarters office in the evening, and are secret as a matter of course. A schedule of regular meetings is prepared by the cell secretary one or two months in advance and the particulars communicated to the members. In addition, on the day of the meeting one cell member is designated by the secretary to confirm the hour of the gathering to the other members. Cell meetings are classified as either

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"regular" (i.e., scheduled) or "extraordinary."

5. A cell numbering more than four persons is required to name a secretary. The function of the secretary is normally assumed by the political commissar of the unit concerned. Theoretically, any member of the cell is eligible to become secretary if elected by the other members, but in practice this seldom occurs. The secretary presides at cell meetings, directs cell activities, and transmits "directives" and supervises their execution. The secretary is further required to submit an activities report to the Political Section of his unit every ten days.
6. The brigade headquarters cell is divided into several groups to accommodate the various headquarters sections. For example, the artillery-technical section and the financial section might constitute a single group, and so on. There is no fixed system covering grouping, which is rather determined by conditions within the unit and by the number of Party members in the headquarters. The brigade secretary is authorized to "adapt" standing and new directives, but may not alter their actual provisions or spirit.
7. All cell secretaries of a given unit at a given level constitute a "committee of secretaries" which from time to time holds meetings and which maintains liaison with a similar committee of secretaries on the next higher level. A representative of the superior committee customarily attends meetings of the subordinate committee.

Directives:

8. Directives contain regulations and suggestions for cell activities, and aim at co-ordinating and standardising effort throughout the Party military structure. They outline, for example, methods of improving military discipline among personnel, the instilling of "conscious discipline," raising the level of political education, and ferreting out "unreliable" elements and spying on them. Directives also set the "theme" for discussion and effort.
9. All directives originate with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and no authority other than the Central Committee is empowered to issue them. They are transmitted from the Military Adviser of the Central Committee through the Political Administration of the Yugoslav Army to the various army headquarters cells. They are then transmitted through channels down to the various levels of command. The exact text of directives is not usually disseminated beyond the committee of cell secretaries.
10. "Themes" may be either "standing" or "extraordinary." Standing themes are those prescribed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party for study by all cell members, who are expected to master them within a specified time. Collectively, they form a sort of curriculum of study. For 1947 the Central Committee set forth twenty-two themes the mastery of which was made compulsory during the year, with a time limit set for each theme. The time limit varied from fifteen to thirty days according to the comprehensiveness and importance of the given theme. A few of the articles and books which formed the basis of themes were [redacted] as follows:

"Just Wars and Wars of Injustice" by Josef V. STALIN

"The Road of the New Yugoslavia" by Josip Broz TITO

"The Activities of Reactionary Forces during the War of the People's Liberation"

"The Struggle of the Yugoslav Peoples"

"The Political and Economic Structure of Yugoslavia"

"Teachings on the Party" by LENIN and STALIN

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Marr' theories as translated from various Russian books.

11. Extraordinary themes are generally evoked by important military and political events or by significant international developments. [redacted] following extraordinary themes of 1947 which were made the topic of discussion during cell meetings:

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Atomic Bomb: It was generally held that the USSR had not yet perfected an atomic bomb but that "Russia possesses counter-measures which she is not mentioning." When this topic was raised, references were generally made to bacteriological and chemical warfare.

Trieste: SFORZA and DeGASPERI were always referred to as supporters of Fascism. "The People of Venezia Giulia are striving to achieve their rights despite the Anglo-American repression carried out by the 'carini' (Civil Police)."

Anglo-American Foreign Policy: The policy "as it is being administered throughout the world, and particularly in Greece, France, and Italy, is nothing more than that of a clique of capitalist leaders determined to hold the western peoples in their grip." Much is made of the Greek guerilla fighters, the large Communist Party membership in France and Italy, the struggle of the Venezia Giulia and Carinthian populations, and large-scale strikes in the USA. President Truman is commonly referred to as the defender and bulwark of capitalism, kept in office by the capitalists to uphold their interest. America stands for imperialism and capitalism and is the oppressor of small nations.

Domestic Issues: The trials of Gen. MIHAILOVIC and Archbishop STEPINAC were discussed.

12. The interpretations of these topics laid down in the cell meetings are disseminated among the military, although not in detail, in order to offset any conflicting views which they may have gained from talking with the civilian population. This practice is not to be confused, however, with the regular political lectures arranged for the soldiers.

Examination Conferences:

13. To review the progress of individual members in the mastery of themes, so-called examination conferences are arranged for several cells simultaneously. The members of all the cells of a given unit are thus subjected to a combined test, which usually lasts from three to four hours. Performance in the examination is graded, and the individual must be passed in the theme under study before going to the next subject. Examiners are either unit political commissars or Party experts from other units.

Circles:

14. To facilitate the mastering of assigned themes, the practice of subdividing cells into reading groups called "circles" was introduced on an extensive scale during 1947. Circle meetings are held every evening; the members take turns reading, and the particular theme is discussed.

Membership Dues:

15. Membership dues are payable monthly, the sum being a percentage of the individual's monthly pay. A person who receives a monthly salary of 4000 dinars is charged dues of 70 dinars monthly. In addition to regular dues, all members are expected to make "voluntary contributions," which are continually demanded. Failure to respond is likely to result in the member's being stigmatized as "lacking in political consciousness."

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Admission to Membership in the Communist PartyWartime Membership Procedure:

16. From 1941 until August 1945, admission procedure was simple and informal. It was generally understood that the highly-trained and successful officer was expected to join the Party. The prospective member was approached by a political commissar and asked if he desired to join. Since such an offer was regarded by Communist officials as equivalent to conferring a high honor upon the individual, refusal on the part of the latter was interpreted as a sign of political disaffection demanding drastic action. Generally the offender was immediately transferred to a front-line unit where the casualty rate was high.
17. When the offer was accepted, however, a meeting of the unit cell was called to consider the application. After the meeting the prospect was notified that he had been accepted, and was immediately assigned certain compulsory tasks. Basic among these was his undertaking to devote himself without stint to "raising the military and political level" of the unit.
18. Few cell meetings were held in wartime. Orders and directives were passed on to members in military fashion. Upon the cessation of hostilities a thorough-going "purge" was ordered, and many persons who had been granted Party membership during combat operations were ejected from the Party on charges of having collaborated with the Germans, with NEDIC, with LJOTIC, or with the Chetniks.

Membership Procedure during 1946:

19. The postwar purge was followed by a new directive outlining the proper methods of observing and controlling the activities of Party members and defining the revised procedure for admitting new members. Officers and soldiers with outstanding records of loyalty were to be considered for Party membership; a large number of these had already been inscribed in SKOJ. The new membership procedure ran about as follows:
 - a. A Party member selected an officer or soldier whom he considered suitable for membership and proposed his name at a cell meeting. The prospect was then designated as a "candidate."
 - b. On the basis of this proposal, one or two members were assigned the task of discreetly sounding out the candidate on his political opinions.
 - c. The results of the confidential inquiry were submitted to the members at the next session of the cell. If the findings corroborated the observations of the sponsor, the name was put to a vote, and, upon majority approval, the candidate was admitted to membership. The new member was then notified of his admission and was invited to attend the next meeting.
 - d. At the next cell meeting, the new member was required to make an oral statement of the reasons for his devotion to his army assignment, to demonstrate that his performance of his duties had been first and foremost to advance "common interests," and to acknowledge his acceptance of the Communist Party as the sole political authority. He was next required to declare his intention to pursue his duties with the same vigor which had prompted his candidacy for membership. He was then asked to give a detailed personal history.
 - e. Following a speech of welcome by the cell secretary, who explained the meaning and responsibilities of Party membership, the new member was informed that he was expected to give unquestioning obedience to Party directives. He was cautioned to keep his membership in the Party confidential, and was duly sworn in.

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- f. The new member was immediately assigned specific tasks designed to test his loyalty and resolution. He might, for example, be called upon to give instruction to illiterate soldiers or to be responsible for the maintenance of weapons. His performance of these duties was observed by the Party members and judged severely. Upon successfully passing this stage, the new member was considered confirmed in the Party.

Membership Procedure at Present:

20. The current procedure for admitting military personnel to membership in the Communist Party dates from the beginning of 1947. The introduction of new and stricter requirements reflects the determination of the Central Committee to make the cells more "inflexible and aggressive" and to prevent their infiltration by "enemies" and spies. It was apparently felt that admission procedure at cell level was too lax and that the members were insufficiently critical of new candidates. Accordingly, the current directive contains the following new provisions:
 - a. The cell secretary is responsible for observing closely the activities of all cell members.
 - b. The most thoroughgoing and revealing surveillance and screening of all candidates must be instituted.
 - c. All candidates must serve a probationary term.
 - d. "Intellectuals" shall be admitted into the Party. Earlier policy had opposed the recruiting of new members from the category of persons termed "intellectuals" by Party authorities. The present departure indicates the need for leaders to carry out the new organizational and ideological directives, and in recent months the number of intellectuals among candidates has increased.
 - e. More emphasis is to be placed on the political education of members. The introduction of "examination conferences" and "study circles" previously mentioned was the result of this provision.
21. Current admission procedure, therefore, is as follows:
 - a. The candidate, who is usually ignorant of the fact, is proposed by a Party member.
 - b. Following favorable action upon a proposal, the cell members initiate a close surveillance of the candidate for a period of one month. At the end of this period a decision is taken regarding further action.
 - c. If the decision is favorable, the candidate enters upon a probationary period lasting from one to three years, depending upon his political qualifications.
 - d. An "inquiry commission" of two or three cell members is then named. The commission requests from the candidate a detailed personal history with references from Party members who are willing to certify to his statements. The commission examines the personal history statement minutely and studies the political background of every member of the candidate's immediate family and of all his living relatives. The "People's Committee" and the Civil UDBA of the candidate's home district are consulted, as is the pertinent Military UDBA authority. The candidate's professed political convictions are discreetly verified. References named by the candidate are called upon to submit written declarations concerning him. A final report is then compiled by the commission.
 - e. A cell meeting is called for final action on the "application." Requirements for favorable action are:
 - (1) Unanimous approval by the members of the cell.
 - (2) Favorable statements from all references named by the candidate; one derogatory statement is sufficient for disqualification.

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(3) Absence of derogatory information throughout the probationary period.

- f. If favorable action is taken, the candidate is invited viva voce to attend the next cell meeting. The remainder of the procedure is identical with that formerly followed. If unfavorable action is taken, the candidate is given no notification of any kind.

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Comment: In the early months of 1947 all Party members were required to submit duplicate personal history statements, reportedly as the basis for issuing new membership cards. Up to July 1947, however, no new cards had been distributed.)

Expulsion:

22. Expulsion generally results from negligence, dereliction of duty, disobedience of directives, or adherence to principles contrary to Party ideology. A unanimous vote of cell members is necessary to expel a member from the Party, but in practice the decision of the cell secretary, whose recommendation is almost invariably followed, is sufficient to achieve "unanimity." A series of less severe disciplinary measures usually precedes expulsion, although if the offense is of a grave political character direct resort may be had to the latter.

Disciplinary measures include:

- a. An oral admonition by the cell secretary
 - b. A written reprimand
 - c. A severe written reprimand
 - d. A severe written final reprimand.
23. If disciplinary action or expulsion is contemplated, the Political Section of the unit concerned is requested to send a representative to the session at which the case is to be discussed. An expelled member is given in charge of UDPA for interrogation.

SKOJ in the Armed Forces:General Remarks:

24. SKOJ ("Savez Komunističke Omladine Jugoslavije" - Union of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia) is a Communist organization designed to prepare young people for Communist Party membership. The upper age limit for members is twenty-four years. Military SKOJ is more overt in its operations than the Communist Party itself. SKOJ meetings are generally held in public places and non-members may observe but not participate in them.

Organization and Functions:

25. The basic organizational unit of SKOJ is the "aktiv" corresponding to the Party cell. The aktiv comprises eight members, including a secretary who must be a Communist Party member. Directives are originated and passed down in the same manner as in the Communist Party cell system. Meetings, which are held once a week, are designated as "work," "educational," or "theory" meetings. Work meetings are devoted to discussions and decisions concerning the assignment of various tasks to the aktiv as a whole and to its individual members. Educational meetings are devoted to ideological education. The basic works of Engels, Marx, Stalin, Lenin, and others are used as texts. Theory meetings, which involve debate and discussions, are run on the "circle" plan. Here, as in the Party, themes are assigned for study and mastery within a fixed period. The works of Tito, Kardelj, and Milevan Djilas are topics of study and discussion.

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26. The general direction of the SKOJ active rests with the Brigade Political Section, one of whose members holds the post of Brigade SKOJ Secretary. The Brigade SKOJ Secretary makes semi-weekly routine inspections of SKOJ groups and is expected to attend as many SKOJ active meetings as possible. Membership dues are fixed in proportion to pay rates, but private soldiers pay a flat rate of ten dinars monthly. Attendance at meetings is compulsory, and absence from a meeting must be explained in a written statement supported by documents.
27. After completing a course of political and military training, SKOJ members are required to contribute to the "voluntary work" on peasants' farms, to clear rubble, and to help repair buildings damaged in the war.

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